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NOTE

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The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council.* The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2500th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 18 November 1983, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Victor J. GAUCI (Malta).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2500)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in Cyprus:
   Letter dated 15 November 1983 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16147);
   Letter dated 15 November 1983 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16150);
   Letter dated 15 November 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16151)

The meeting was called to order at 4.30 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus:

Letter dated 15 November 1983 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16147);

Letter dated 15 November 1983 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16150);

Letter dated 15 November 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16151)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken by the Council at its 2497th and 2498th meetings, I invite the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey to take places at the Council table. I invite the representatives of Algeria, Australia, Canada, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, India, Romania, Seychelles, Sri Lanka and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Iacovou (Cyprus), Mr. Dountas (Greece) and Mr. Kirca (Turkey) took places at the Council table; Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Woolcott (Australia), Mr. Pelletier (Canada), Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. Al-Ashtal (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Krishnan (India), Mr. Marinescu (Romania), Ms. Gonthier (Seychelles), Mr. Fonseka (Sri Lanka) and Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Egypt in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representative of Egypt to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Moussa (Egypt) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

3. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana): Permit me, Sir, to extend to you my warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of November. Your experience and diplomatic skill give us the assurance that our work will be properly and efficiently guided during this month. You may be assured of my delegation's fullest co-operation and support. May I take this opportunity also to pay a special tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Salah of Jordan, whose great skill and ability were tested to the utmost during the month of October. He gave proof once again of the qualities of leadership and dedication to hard work for which he has become so well known among us.

4. The efforts of the international community to promote non-intervention and non-use of force, already against great odds, suffered a serious setback in Cyprus on 15 November with the declaration by the Turkish Cypriot community purporting to create an independent State.

5. My delegation cannot separate that declaration of 15 November from a wider international context in which we have recently been witnessing increasingly frequent resort to the threat of use of force, and even the actual use of force, to settle disputes and to dominate others. Prepara-

tions for war are intensifying, proxies are being armed and trained and military solutions are being openly promoted, while political means are being ignored and played down. The action of 15 November is an attempt to consolidate and give legitimacy to a situation created by invasion and occupation. In the context I have just described, that action causes my delegation gravest concern, as it must surely do all States sharing a commitment to peaceful, stable and harmonious international relations.

6. The Security Council has an obligation to discourage the use of force in international relations. It must be unequivocal in its rejection of international lawlessness. It must so respond that military adventurism, intervention and occupation are clearly seen as unacceptable and as unlawful practices, and peaceful settlement is more frequently and more actively pursued.

7. Quite apart from these considerations, the action of 15 November adds a new dimension of complication to the already complicated search for a solution to the question of Cyprus at a moment when a renewed and determined effort was being actively pursued by the Secretary-General to introduce some momentum into the search for a solution.

8. What is more, General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) calls upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned character of Cyprus.

9. Security Council resolution 367 (1975) called on the parties concerned to refrain from any action which might jeopardize the negotiations between the representatives of the two communities and to take steps which would facilitate the creation of the climate necessary for the success of those negotiations.

10. As recently as March this year, the heads of State or Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries reiterated their support for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Cyprus. The Non-Aligned Movement has consistently called for, and sought to promote, the withdrawal of all occupation troops from Cyprus as an essential basis for the solution of the Cyprus problem. The unity of the island is a goal to which the Movement has been passionately dedicated. My own country has the honour of serving as a member of the non-aligned contact group on Cyprus, and ours is an irrevocable commitment to that goal.

11. In light of the foregoing, my delegation considers that the response by the Council contained in the draft resolution [*S/16149*] now before us is inadequate. We believe the Council should condemn the declaration in categorical terms as being in defiance of the United Nations, in particular of Council resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975). My delegation also believes it would have been consistent with the gravity of the situation just created by the Turkish Cypriot authorities for the Council to declare that the United Nations would not accord any recognition to the so-called independent entity. An appeal should also be directed to Member States not to recognize it. My delegation will for its part certainly not extend any recognition to this so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, and we call on other Member States to take a similar attitude.

12. Despite the fact that that document does not reflect what our delegation considers should be the appropriate response of the Council in the case under consideration, we wish to make it very clear that we sincerely appreciate the effort made by its authors. In a spirit of compromise, we shall vote in favour of it.

13. There is no justification whatsoever for the recent action by the Turkish Cypriot community of Cyprus. The excesses of the past are not a justification. There have been excesses on both sides. But the way to a solution in Cyprus lies forward. While no side can be expected to forget or to ignore that past, there is certainly an obligation on both sides to prevent the memory of past experiences from influencing perceptions of present intentions. The past cannot be invoked in defence of the *status quo* or of ambitions inconsistent with the Charter and with General Assembly and Security Council resolutions and decisions on the question of Cyprus. My delegation calls again for the withdrawal of the declaration of 15 November and urges the two communities henceforth to co-operate actively and in good faith with the Secretary-General in his efforts to revive the intercommunal negotiations with a view to a peaceful solution of the problem of Cyprus.

14. Mr. MASHINGAIDZE (Zimbabwe): I wish first of all, Sir, to add my own voice to the many others that have already congratulated you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November. This is indeed a busy month, but we are confident that your well-known diplomatic skills, wide and long experience and patience, as well as personal charm, will be brought to bear upon and facilitate our present deliberations. Through you, I also wish to pay a very well-deserved tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Salah of Jordan, for the most admirable manner in which he guided the Council's deliberations during the month of October.

15. My colleague and dear friend the Permanent Representative of Sri Lanka, as well as several other friends and colleagues, have asked me to draw parallels between the Turkish Cypriot unilateral declaration of independence of 15 November 1983 and the Rhodesian unilateral declaration of independence of 11 November 1965. The temptation to do this and to draw the lessons learnt and/or missed from the Rhodesian declaration is indeed very great and almost irresistible. Nevertheless, I shall resist it and go straight into the question before the Council.

16. However, before doing so, I would only observe—very sadly—the fact that, in spite of the ugly and tragic lessons of the unilateral declaration of independence by Ian Smith's Rhodesia, the Council should add yet another item of unilateral declaration of independence on its agenda so soon thereafter. To say the least, this is indicative of mankind's inability—or is it refusal—to learn from its own past experience.

17. The violation of international law and treaties and the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations by any country or community is and must always be viewed with the gravest concern by all civilized mankind. It is not surprising, therefore, that the illegal unilateral declaration by the Turkish Cypriot leaders on 15 November, which was aimed at establishing an independent state on the territory of the Republic of Cyprus, is being roundly and soundly condemned and rejected by world leaders.

18. For the record, I should like to read out to the Council my own Government's position on the matter, as stated by the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Mr. Robert Mugabe:

> "The Government of Zimbabwe was dismayed by the illegal declaration of independence by the Turkish Cypriots on 15 November. This unilateral act of attempted secession by Turkish Cypriots exacerbates the grave problems facing Cyprus. It is a direct attack on the territorial integrity of Cyprus which is sure to cause serious harm not only to the delicate peace obtaining in that country but also to the initiatives of the international community to seek, through the United Nations, a negotiated solution to the problem facing the Turkish and Greek communities of Cyprus.
>
> "The Republic of Zimbabwe unreservedly condemns this unilateral and illegal declaration of independence by the Turkish Cypriot community as a misguided and provocative act which violates United Nations resolutions on Cyprus and constitutes a serious threat to the security of the Republic of Cyprus and the stability of the whole eastern Mediterranean area. Zimbabwe will continue both within the Commonwealth and the United Nations, as well as in other forums, to work for a peaceful reversal of this act of rebellion and to call for negotiations to bring about a just and lasting solution.
>
> "It is the ardent hope of the Government of Zimbabwe that those external forces which instigated this illegal and dangerous course of action will immediately work to reverse it and proceed to co-operate with the rest of the international community in efforts to restore the legality and constitutional oneness of Cyprus. Zimbabwe believes in the unity and indivisibility of the Republic of Cyprus and refuses to recognize Denktaş's unilateral declaration of independence."

19. It is clear from the statements made by the Secretary-General [*see 2497th meeting, para. 9*] and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus [*2497th meeting*] that the illegal declaration by the Turkish Cypriot leadership on 15 November came at a time when the Secretary-General's own personal efforts in search of a peaceful solution to the Cyprus question were under way. This fact is also amply confirmed by Mr. Denktaş's own statement to the Council yesterday [*2498th meeting*].

20. This move was therefore utterly unjustified. It is also a rude and intolerable slap in the face for the international community. The Council must therefore condemn and reject it as null and void. It must also call upon all the members of the United Nations not to grant recognition to the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, as it would be a grave threat to the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, a Member of this Organization.

21. Finally, the Council should call upon the Turkish Cypriot leadership immediately to withdraw its illegal declaration in order to create conditions conducive to the resumption of the Secretary-General's efforts in search of a peaceful, just and lasting solution to the question of Cyprus.

22. Mr. NATORF (Poland): At the very outset, Sir, I should like to congratulate you warmly on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November. Knowing your diplomatic abilities and experience, we are convinced that the Council will be able to discharge its duties. I wish you every success in your difficult work. At the same time, I want to assure you of the co-operation of my delegation. I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Salah of Jordan, who presided over the meetings last month with impartiality, wisdom and efficiency.

23. The Council is faced with an alarming development in Cyprus owing to the proclamation of the self-styled Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. This regrettable event adds a new dimension to the crisis in Cyprus, as it is increasing tensions in the area and posing a threat to international peace and security. This unilateral step by the Turkish community leaders of the island is prejudicial to the painstaking efforts to find a peaceful solution to the conflict and is disrupting the Secretary-General's negotiations at a delicate stage. Particularly disturbing is the fact that this step has been undertaken at a moment when the negotiations seemed to justify the hope for a summit meeting between the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, and the Turkish community leader, Mr. Rauf Denktaş.

24. My Government learned with grave concern of the declaration of 15 November. It was at once rejected by the overwhelming majority of the international community. We deplore this declaration, which violates Council resolutions, in particular, resolution 367 (1975) of 12 March 1975.

25. The Polish Press Agency has been authorized to issue the following statement, which I would like to read to the Council for the record:

> "The years-long Cyprus conflict, which constitutes a dangerous hotbed of tension in that region of the world, has frequently been the subject of debates in the United Nations and the object of efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General aimed at its peaceful, just and lasting solution. Both the Security Council and the General Assembly have adopted a number of resolutions the implementation of which would increase the chance of finding such a solution.

"Poland participated in the elaboration of those resolutions, and it supports the steps undertaken by the Secretary-General with a view to their implementation.

"The proclamation of a separatist State of Cyprus constitutes a unilateral, arbitrary decision which makes agreement between the Greek and Turkish communities more remote. It is aimed at the partition of Cyprus and is therefore objectionable and unacceptable.

"If talks with a view to a peaceful, just and lasting resolution of the Cyprus crisis are to continue, that decision must be reviewed and reversed. This decision is in contravention of United Nations resolutions and is becoming an additional source of tension both in Cyprus and in the whole region surrounding it, which must give rise to justified concern.

"Poland consistently maintains its position on the Cyprus question. We are in favour of its resolution by Cypriots themselves through negotiations between the two communities, taking due account of their legitimate interests and without interference by other States. The problem should be solved with respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, as well as for its non-aligned status."

26. We are deeply convinced that the way to achieve a prompt solution to the problems of Cyprus is through the comprehensive and effective implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the Political Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries [*see S/15675 and Corr. 1 and 2, annex, sect. I, paras. 128 to 131*], held in March 1983 at New Delhi. Given the necessary political will, it would be possible to work out, within the framework of the internal constitutional order of the Republic of Cyprus, a solution acceptable to all.

27. My delegation listened with attention to the statements of the parties concerned and took note of their declared intention to resolve their problems without recourse to force. In our view, efforts to exercise the maximum restraint and refrain from any action that might aggravate the situation are a *sine qua non* of a negotiated, mutually acceptable settlement.

28. Speaking in the 117th meeting of the General Assembly's thirty-seventh session, in May of this year, the Polish representative emphasized, *inter alia*, his belief that the intercommunal talks represent the best available means to achieve a just settlement of the Cyprus question. We have also supported a call for the cessation of all foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the Republic, as well as the right of the Republic and its people to full and effective control over the entire territory of the island. We continue to maintain this position.

29. In conclusion I should like to emphasize that my delegation is ready to support the draft resolution aimed at the reversal of the unilateral declaration of 15 November, expressing support for the legitimate Government of the Republic of Cyprus and requesting the Secretary-General to pursue his mission of good offices in order to find a negotiated settlement and restore unity, peace and coexistence in the island. We will support this draft resolution, which also calls upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.

30. Mr. AMEGA (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation was astounded to learn of the proclamation of the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Does this spell the end of all the efforts that the Organization has constantly made to resolve the unhappy problem of Cyprus? Are all the sacrifices made by the Secretary-General to be in vain? Will the international community once again be powerless to deal with a flagrant violation of one of its fundamental principles?

31. Before going on with these questions, however, all of which stem from my state of amazement, I should like to extend to you, Sir, my very warm congratulations on your assession to the presidency of the Council for the month of November. Having already seen you in action at various meetings in the course of which you have always displayed outstanding diplomatic talents and demonstrated a great mastery of international matters, as well as a profound devotion to the principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, to which both of our countries belong, my delegation cannot but feel confident of the success of our work. My delegation would also like to pay a well-deserved tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Salah, who presided over the Council's work during a particularly arduous month with the tranquillity, thoughtfulness and farsightedness characteristic of him.

32. My delegation is still wondering. Are the Secretary-General's efforts to settle the question of Cyprus to be in vain? Does the proclamation that has been made threaten to complicate further the mission of good offices the Council has entrusted to him? How can we now approach the entire question of settling the question of Cyprus, the essential facts of which we might recall at this juncture?

33. The question of Cyprus is rooted in the difficulties encountered by two peoples that have been condemned by history to live together on one and the same territory. When it acceded to independence on 16 August 1960 the island of Cyprus became a bicommunal republic pursuant to the Zurich and London Agreements[1] reached in February 1959 between the parties, those parties being the Greek Cypriots, the Turkish Cypriots, Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

34. The Constitution adopted at that time recognized the existence of two communities, the Turkish Cypriot and the Greek Cypriot, whose interests were to be safeguarded by that Constitution. Furthermore, the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee[2] signed by Greece, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Turkey and Cyprus further guaranteed the Basic Articles of that Constitution and the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the new Cypriot State, and at the same time it guaranteed a balance between the interests of both communities.

35. The recognition of the existence of both communities in the Constitution and in existing treaties is rather significant and is a clear expression of a certain political reality. Because of that situation each Cypriot community feels itself much closer to its nation of origin, Greece or Turkey, both of them countries that are by no means indifferent to the fate of the populations of the Cypriot State who are embroiled in political and religious struggles. What ensued is familiar to everyone, with the bloody events of 1963 that resulted in the creation of a peace-keeping force following the adoption of Security Council resolution 186 (1964) which, *inter alia*, asked the Government of Cyprus to take all additional measures necessary to stop violence and bloodshed in Cyprus. That request was fruitless, in spite of the pressure and intervention of the United Nations and certain States to induce the parties to negotiate and to restore peace. It was not until 6 June 1968 that intercommunal talks opened in Beirut and were continued in Nicosia a week later. Those talks went on sporadically until 1973, with a glimmer of hope that the events of 1974 extinguished.

36. Those events once again highlighted the essential involvement of Greece and Turkey in Cyprus and must clearly be regarded as acts in violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

37. This is why, in November 1974, the General Assembly, in resolution 3212 (XXIX), called upon all States to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and non-alignment of Cyprus. That resolution also urged the withdrawal of foreign armed forces and the cessation of all foreign interference. In addition, while reaffirming the constitutional nature of the two communities, Turkish and Greek, the resolution called upon the two communities to continue negotiations under the auspices of the Secretary-General in order to reach a mutually acceptable political settlement based on their fundamental and legitimate rights.

38. The General Assembly's resolution of November 1974 not only called for respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus but also called upon both communities to continue their negotiations. Those negotiations, which were resumed in 1977 through the personal efforts of Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, now Secretary-General, to whom we should here pay a special tribute for his personal efforts devoted to achieving a settlement to the problem of Cyprus—those negotiations were suspended and eventually resumed in 1979, without any noteworthy progress having been made. In 1980 they were reopened, and since then they have been pursued intermittently. It was with a view to reviving them and to reaching a speedy solution that the General Assembly last May adopted resolution 37/253, confirming the provisions of resolution 3212 (XXIX). Recently the Secretary-General has nourished considerable hope, in view of the felicitous outcome to negotiations designed to reopen the talks between the two communities. We can thus understand the extent of his disappointment at the proclamation of the self-styled Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

39. That proclamation not only flouts the General Assembly's 1974 resolution on the territorial integrity of Cyprus, but also violates the 1960 Cypriot Constitution and the Treaty of Guarantee regarding the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Cypriot State. That proclamation can in no way be justified by the existing constitutional provisions and treaties governing the political life of the State of Cyprus, and it cannot be accepted by the international community.

40. In the view of my delegation, the settlement of the question of Cyprus must necessarily be based on strict respect for the Constitution and for the treaties signed at the time of the accession of Cyprus to independence. The two Cypriot communities, Greek and Turkish, should work together to build a Cyprus with full territorial integrity. Neither of them should take advantage of certain *de facto* situations in order to modify unilaterally conditions which are the subject of treaties guaranteeing the rights of each of those communities.

41. My delegation remains convinced, having listened here to the statements made by the parties concerned, that the desire for negotiations and for peace still exists on their part. It is therefore to be hoped that all the parties will shortly return to the negotiating table to find, with the assistance of the good offices of the Secretary-General, a satisfactory solution to this very disquieting problem of Cyprus.

42. Mr. NGUAYILA MBELA KALANDA (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): I wish to begin my statement, Sir, by congratulating you on behalf of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for November. Your well-known qualities as a seasoned diplomat guarantee the success of our work. I wish also to thank the representative of Jordan, Mr. Salah, for the excellent work he did last month.

43. The United Nations has been dealing with the question of Cyprus for a considerable number of years. Many resolutions have been adopted by the Security Council and by the General Assembly in an attempt to find a just, negotiated solution of the problem of Cyprus. The Republic of Zaire commends the efforts made by all the parties concerned and by the United Nations, especially its Secretary-General, who is playing the leading role in the search for a just and lasting solution to the problem before the Council. We fully support all his efforts. In no circumstances, however, can we support a solution dictated by the use of force, much less by a policy of secession.

44. We therefore remain firmly committed to the idea of the need for the continuance of the intercommunal talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General, in order to achieve a just and lasting solution of the problem of Cyprus.

45. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Democratic Yemen. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

46. Mr. AL-ASHTAL (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me much pleasure to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I am confident that, with your well-known diplomatic skill and wide experience, you will guide the work of the Council to a successful conclusion. I must also pay a tribute to Mr. Abdullah Salah for his efforts as President of the Council last month.

47. I have come to the Council to state my Government's position regarding the declaration by the Turkish Cypriot community of the establishment of a new political entity which they call the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

48. The Government of Democratic Yemen condemns that action, which is in complete contravention of Council resolutions on the question of Cyprus of the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Those resolutions call for respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. My Government calls on all members not to recognize or establish relations with this entity, which has no basis in international legality. It must be noted here that the Turkish community's invocation of the right of self-determination as the legal basis for their declaration of the political entity is groundless. It is a distortion of the historic General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), which affirms the right of peoples to self-determination, not on a factional, religious or sectarian basis, but on the basis of national unity and territorial integrity. Moreover, no people can exercise its right of self-determination under occupation and foreign domination.

49. The seeds of the partition of the non-aligned Republic of Cyprus were sown when Turkish forces invaded and occupied northern Cyprus in 1974. That invasion, which was condemned by the Security Council and the General Assembly, posed a grave threat to the unity and independence of Cyprus and was a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international law. It was therefore not surprising that Turkey immediately declared its recognition of this entity. What arouses our concern is that these events are taking place in an international climate fraught with threats and crises, especially in the eastern Mediterranean region, where the largest American armada has been deployed, and in the Middle Eastern region, where tension grows daily.

50. We Arabs have suffered, and continue to suffer, from the colonialist policy of fragmentation. The troubles and crises in our region are the result of Zionist occupation and the policy of annexation and expansion.

51. The grave precedent being set at this very moment in northern Cyprus is having a profound adverse effect not only in the Middle East but on the world as a whole. The establishment of political entities on the basis of religious or sectarian homogeneity not only undermines the national unity and territorial integrity of States but also leads to war and destruction. Cyprus was, like Lebanon, an example of national harmony and religious and confessional pluralism within a single State, and confessional differences should not be allowed to justify fragmentation and partition.

52. It is truly regrettable that a political entity is declared in northern Cyprus while the Secretary-General pursues his efforts and initiatives to restore peace and harmony between the two communities in Cyprus. We hope that the Secretary-General will pursue his good offices, and we hope that the Security Council will take a firm stand condemning this artificial entity and take action that will guarantee the unity of Cyprus and its national independence.

53. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Egypt. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

54. Mr. MOUSSA (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, I would like at the outset to express to you the pleasure of the delegation of Egypt upon your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are confident that under your presidency the Council will be able to live up to its important task, at this critical stage, in the best possible way. I would also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Abdullah Salah of Jordan, who conducted the business of the Council last month very firmly, impartially and with the great capability for which he is known.

55. The latest developments in the question of Cyprus and the problem of Cyprus itself constitute a source of grave concern, because of the threat their continuation represents to the security and stability not only of the island itself but because they increase tension in the eastern Mediterranean as a whole. This is a matter which Egypt views with grave concern and which it is following with all the seriousness that it deserves.

56. Egypt's position concerning the question of Cyprus and its developments, including the declaration of a separate independent republic in northern Cyprus, which is a grave development in this situation, is based on the principles and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations, as well as on the resolutions of the United Nations and those of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Therefore, Egypt believes that the question before the Council today, which has previously been considered in the Council many times, calls for the application of all the factors agreed upon by the international community in its resolutions concerning both the development and the exacerbation of this problem, also bearing in mind the far-reaching effects that could result from this situation.

57. The factors are the following. First, the political independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus are the foundations on which all serious attempts to solve the problem must be based. Secondly, there is a need to settle the problem without undue delay in accordance with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations. Thirdly, the human rights and fundamental freedoms for the members of the two communities in Cyprus must be respected because they represent the sound basis for understanding and coexistence in the single State of Cyprus.

58. The national unity and territorial integrity of Cyprus is the formula that has to be protected, and we urge a return to and development of that formula so as to enable Cyprus to continue its national march as a sovereign State in the whole of its territory, in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly, the latest of which is 37/253 of 13 May 1983. We are convinced that the taking of steps that are long range in effect reduce and curtail the possibilities for reaching a just, peaceful solution for the question of Cyprus. Therefore, we call for the immediate resumption of the serious efforts to reach a just settlement and to take bold and immediate steps towards the solution of the problem of Cyprus so as to avoid any further deterioration of the situation. Therefore, we urge the parties concerned to consider the threats that could affect the destiny of Cyprus and the destiny of peace based on justice and equality, which we, in the framework of the United Nations, strive to establish in that part of the world, in a manner that guarantees equal and just rights for all.

59. We listened to the statement made by the Secretary-General yesterday [*2497th meeting*], and we would like to affirm his proposal to hold a high-level conference under his auspices and his continuation of the mission of good offices. The delegation of Egypt believes that it is very important that this action be taken immediately and that the Secretary-General invite the parties who are present here in the Council to start the negotiations in good faith without any preconditions and under equal obligations and rights for the sons of Cyprus in the two communities, so as to enable the country to remain as one State, as called for in the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Non-Aligned Movement.

60. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Turkey, on whom I now call.

61. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform the Council of the views of my Government on draft resolution S/16149, which we have before us. In the ultimate hope of being in some way useful to the Council, I chose to take the floor at this particular stage.

62. For the reasons which I explained yesterday, there is no legal or legitimate government of the Republic of Cyprus. The team at present in power in the Greek Cypriot zone can only claim to speak for the Greek Cypriot community of the island. That community, in 1963, overturned the constitutional order of the Republic by means of a *coup d'état*, contrary to the Basic Articles of the Constitution and the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee.[2] The administration which ensued therefrom is not authorized to represent the Republic of Cyprus either constitutionally or from the point of view of international law. For that reason, Turkey rejects the first preambular paragraph of this draft.

63. The proclamation of independence by the Turkish Cypriot community is not contrary to the 1960 Treaty concerning the Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus[3] and the Treaty of Guarantee. The agreements[4] and the Constitution of 16 August 1960, which must be seen as a whole, set up a bicommunal Republic and thus enshrined the joint exercise by the two co-founder communities of the right to self-determination.

64. Since the bicommunal constitutional system was destroyed by the Greek Cypriot community, the right to self-determination came into being once again for the Turkish Cypriot community. It has exercised that right and created its own independent State, which will remain such until both communities agree to come together again on an equal footing in the Republic of Cyprus in a bicommunal, bi-zonal and federal framework. This proclamation cannot therefore be regarded as null and void. The decision was taken in accordance with the principle of self-determination, in order to re-establish the state of affairs established by the Basic Articles of the Constitution as envisaged in the Treaty of Guarantee, and as a means of remedying the continuous usurpation by the Greek community of the title "Government of the Republic of Cyprus". The Council would have done better to recognize the legal truth and declare null and void the illegal amendments made unilaterally by the Greek Cypriot community to the unalterable Basic Articles of the Constitution, in violation of that Constitution and of the Treaty of Guarantee, and all similar actions undertaken by that community.

65. Therefore Turkey is forced to reject the second, third and fourth preambular paragraphs and paragraphs 1, 2 and 7 of this draft resolution. In this connection, I solemnly declare that, since there can be no question of the Turkish community's revoking its proclamation of independence, it would be absolutely unthinkable for Turkey to withdraw recognition of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

66. Furthermore, my Government is astonished to see that, contrary to the Council's normal practice of making a clear reference in all its resolutions on this matter to negotiations between the two communities, in this draft resolution this fundamental reference is omitted.

67. However, in order to solve the problem of Cyprus there are only two possible courses within the context of the Secretary-General's mission of good offices: negotiations between the two co-founder communities, or negotiations between two independent States of Cyprus. If paragraph 4 is to be construed as providing the Secretary-General with the opportunity of using his mission of good offices outside the framework of intercommunal negotiations, particularly by carrying out shuttle diplomacy between the two parties, this method, or any other procedure outside the framework of intercommunal negotiations, could only be conceivable between two independent Cypriot States and with their prior consent.

68. I should like to take this opportunity to repeat that the positions and reservations expressed by Turkey on the Council's resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975) remain entirely in force.

69. Finally, I should like to inform the Council that, since the text of this draft resolution is, in my Govern-

ment's opinion, based on a distortion of historical events and a misreading of legal facts, and since it shows not the slightest concern for an evenhanded and equitable approach to the two communities of Cyprus, if it is adopted as a Council resolution, then, in accordance with the position of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus—which has been officially communicated to me by its President—Turkey will have no choice but to reject it in its entirety.

70. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Greece.

71. Mr. DOUNTAS (Greece): I shall be very brief, because at this late hour I do not want to prolong this debate and delay further its most crucial phase, the adoption of the draft resolution. My statement is for the record.

72. Mr. Kirca time and again harps with a certain relish on the theme that Greece purportedly is pursuing the goal of *enosis*, namely, the union of the Republic of Cyprus with Greece. Since this is not the first time that this statement has been made, I took the opportunity of addressing a letter dated 18 October to the Secretary-General [*S/16079*] refuting this allegation. The letter stated in part:

> "any reference to the goals of the anti-colonial struggle of the people of Cyprus during the 1950s is of a purely historical nature and can in no way be construed as constituting a policy statement. The people and the democratic Governments of Greece have genuinely accepted and have been unwaveringly supporting the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. If there is a country that is violating each and every one of these principles, it is Turkey, by its invasion of Cyprus in 1974 and by its continuing occupation of one third of the territory of the Republic."

73. It has also done this more recently through the creation of this novelty, this Turkish Cypriot pseudo-State, which Turkey has also recognized. As for this recognition, I have to admit my sympathy, because since this pseudo-State is the creation of Turkey it would be really cruel of it not to have recognized its illegal offspring.

74. As for another statement by Mr. Kirca made yesterday [*2498th meeting*]—namely, that the difference between Turkey and Greece since 1959 is that Turkey has continued to support the idea of an independent Republic of Cyprus—an extensive reply was given by the representative of Cyprus this morning [*2499th meeting*].

75. Mr. de La BARRE de NANTEUIL (France) (*interpretation from French*): The authorities in the northern zone of Cyprus have just proclaimed the independence of a so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. France has unreservedly denounced this grave violation of the territorial integrity, sovereignty, unity and independence of the Republic of Cyprus.

76. France cannot accept this *fait accompli*, which is contrary to all the resolutions of the Security Council, in particular resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975). France wishes to recall that the Government of President Kyprianou is the sole legitimate Government of the Republic of Cyprus, and we call upon the members of the international community not to recognize the illegal action of the authorities of the northern zone of Cyprus.

77. My country has always maintained that the required solution of the problem of Cyprus must include respect for the unity, integrity, sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Cyprus and implies the withdrawal of the foreign occupation forces. France recently recalled its position on this issue, at the time of the adoption by the General Assembly of its resolution 37/253, of 13 May 1983, for which France voted.

78. The Security Council requested the Secretary-General, in its resolution 367 (1975), of 12 March 1975, to undertake a new mission of good offices in close co-operation with the representatives of the two communities. The intercommunal talks have been carried on for nine years, under the auspices of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, without any success in achieving an equitable solution, needed to resolve the distressing problems created by the situation. France had welcomed with hope the recent initiatives of the Secretary-General, proposing a method of negotiation and defining a framework for the resumption of the intercommunal talks. France also welcomed the idea of holding a meeting between the President of the Republic of Cyprus and the head of the Turkish Cypriot community. That meeting might have made it possible to make progress towards a settlement in keeping with the interests of the two communities of the Republic of Cyprus.

79. The decision taken by the authorities of the northern zone of Cyprus jeopardizes those prospects for a settlement, and it must be rescinded. France places its hopes in the mission that the Security Council could ask the Secretary-General to undertake to enable the resumption of the intercommunal talks so that rapid progress can be made towards a just and lasting settlement in Cyprus that is in conformity with the fundamental principles to which we are firmly attached.

80. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Turkey.

81. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): I wish to make only a brief statement. The representative of Greece has just stated that his country refuses union between Greece and Cyprus. I take note of that important statement. The Council will undoubtedly remember it. Turkey hopes that the policy of Greece in future will conform strictly with the statement made by Greece today.

82. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): Mr. President, my delegation warmly congratulates you on your assumption of your important office. We know from experience that you have precisely the talents which are necessary to guide our deliberations and to help us to come to constructive and agreed conclusions. We are glad that you preside over the Council at any time and notably at

moments when we have difficult matters before us. We have not been short of difficult matters. Your predecessor, Mr. Salah, had some exceptionally tricky ones to deal with, and he conducted our affairs with outstanding skill, calmness and success. We are grateful to him. His reputation stands all the higher in consequence of his conduct of the presidency.

83. The British delegation warmly welcomes the presence in the Security Council of the Foreign Ministers of Greece and of Cyprus. They have both made notable contributions.

84. My Government formally requested you, Mr. President, to hold this meeting of the Security Council. We did so because of our deep concern at the action taken by the Turkish Cypriots purporting to declare unilaterally the establishment of an independent State in the Turkish-occupied part of the Republic of Cyprus and because of our belief that this might escalate into an even more serious situation. In view of these inherent dangers my Government believes that the Council should forthwith adopt a clear and measured resolution.

85. The draft resolution [*S/16149*] which we put forward reflected my Government's views. My Foreign Secretary has said in Parliament that the British Government deplores this action by the Turkish Cypriot community. We recognize only one Cypriot State, the Republic of Cyprus, under the Government of President Kyprianou. The Turkish Cypriot action is incompatible with the state of affairs brought about by the treaties governing the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus. My Government has treaty obligations in this respect which we share with the Governments of Greece and Turkey. It is not only our position in the context of the treaties of 1960 which specially involves Britain in this problem. We are also concerned because of our long historical links with Cyprus, continuing into the present with our mutual membership of the Commonwealth and with the settlement in Britain of many Cypriots from both communities.

86. The Council is aware of the process of negotiation which took place and which has now resulted in the draft resolution that is before the Council to be voted upon. Therefore I do not need to go into detail in introducing the draft resolution.

87. Nevertheless, we should be aware of the context in which this draft resolution is put forward. The draft resolution is directed at the present deplorable action. It does not purport to deal with the whole problem of Cyprus. We all know that the present action by the Turkish Cypriot authorities is not the only wrong of one kind or another that has been done since the treaties were signed in 1960.

88. The Council's responsibilities require it to address itself to the future. We have noted that, amidst the gloom cast by the Turkish Cypriot action, both communities have expressed support for the Secretary-General's mission of good offices. Similarly, they both say that they support the 1977 and 1979 high level agreements. It remains just as necessary as before to make every effort to bring the two sides together. We hope that intercommunal talks, which we have strongly supported, will be resumed.

89. My Government believes that the best way to do this is through the activities of the Secretary-General. We have always given our full support to his efforts to seek a solution to the Cyprus problem in the framework of the mission of good offices given him by the Council. We believe that the present Secretary-General, by virtue both of his outstanding ability and his personal experience of the Cyprus problem, is uniquely fitted to undertake this very difficult but extremely important task. We warmly welcome his statement of 17 November [*2497th meeting*] in which he said he was in constant contact with the parties and was determined to pursue his mission of good offices, to weather this crisis and to pursue the search for a settlement, using to the utmost the current presence of high-ranking representatives of the parties in New York.

90. We believe that the Council is united in favour of this proposition, and we hope that it will give the Secretary-General its full backing and unstinting co-operation in the difficult days ahead. I now invite the Council to support the draft resolution.

91. The PRESIDENT: It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.There being no objection, it is so decided.

92. I shall now call upon those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the voting.

93. Mr. SALAH (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like to affirm Jordan's full commitment to the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and non-aligned status of Cyprus. I should also like to record our satisfaction at the fact that we have not heard any of the previous speakers expressing objections or doubts in this regard.

94. Although this has been the point of departure for all those concerned with the question of Cyprus, starting with the Treaty of Establishment and the Treaty of Guarantee of 1960, this problem has persisted in its two dimensions, the internal and the regional. The recent developments in the island, of which we disapprove as a means of solving this problem, are a case in point. While the Security Council and the General Assembly have dealt appropriately with the regional aspect of this question, it is clear that there has perhaps been a kind of lacuna in the treatment of the internal aspect, which is without doubt one of the fundamental dynamics of the question of Cyprus regionally and internationally. At least in one regard, the recent developments are perhaps a reaction to the lack of movement and of sufficient dynamism in dealing with the reasons for the dispute between the two communities of the island on the basis agreed to by all parties concerned.

95. The draft resolution in document S/16149 of 17 November is a continuation of the Council's previous approach, to which we do not object in principle. On the one hand, the draft resolution calls for respect for the sovereignty of a united and independent Cyprus and

affirms its non-aligned status. This is for us a source of satisfaction and an incentive not to object to it. On the other hand, however, it unfortunately fails to take into account the internal aspect of the problem of Cyprus, which in our view is very important. It will be difficult for any effort to achieve a peaceful solution to this problem to succeed if it does not take that into account and if it does not give that aspect enough attention. But, much as we regret the failure of this draft resolution to deal with the reasons for and the aspects of the dispute between the two communities of the island, we also regret the circumstances that led to the declaration of the establishment of an independent State in northern Cyprus. The predominance of such an approach—and while we are not fully familiar with its aspects or the motives behind it—is a grave threat to the territorial integrity, independence and stability of many States inside and outside the region.

96. Hence we find that one aspect of the problem of Cyprus has suffered as a result of the failure to allow things to reach their logical conclusion, on the one hand, and of inadequate treatment, on the other. Therefore there was a continuing dichotomy and inconsistency between the steps taken in the context of the internal dimension and those taken in the context of the international dimension of the problem. Within the framework of the Security Council and the various international efforts, the international aspect of this question prevailed, while recent developments in the island represent the emergence of the internal aspect in a one-sided manner.

97. We would have lent our support to any initiative or action within the Security Council or outside it that would have broken the deadlock that has characterized all efforts and initiatives relating to the question of Cyprus. We had thought that in its original version of 15 November, the draft resolution before us would probably provide an acceptable basis for such an initiative, especially since it would enhance the role of the Secretary-General and accord with the spirit of resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975). However, the majority decided not to open what has been described as a "Pandora's box". That is, the majority preferred—perhaps some found it easier—to adopt this approach. Hence the dichotomy that has characterized the past approach to the problem of Cyprus has persisted on this occasion also.

98. Finally, I would repeat that the approach that led to the declaration of the establishment of an independent State in northern Cyprus constitutes a grave precedent in the region, and it is difficult for us in principle to sympathize with such an approach.

99. Hence the position of Jordan on this draft resolution stems first from our non-acceptance of the continued one-dimensional approach embodied in this draft resolution, and, secondly, from the fact that we do not support the step taken in northern Cyprus.

100. Mr. SHAH NAWAZ (Pakistan): In explaining our vote on draft resolution S/16149, I wish to state that our position has been determined by the following considerations.

101. First, Pakistan has always supported the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Cyprus in a bicommunal, bi-zonal and federal framework. This consideration has always remained foremost in our minds. Secondly, Pakistan attaches the highest importance to the promotion of intercommunal talks and the need to support and encourage the initiatives of the Secretary-General. Thirdly, at this critical juncture when events have taken a dramatic turn in Cyprus, the Security Council has the responsibility to preserve and promote the objective of a united Cyprus within a bicommunal, bi-zonal and federal framework, which can be achieved only through reconciliation between the two communities and the intercommunal talks. Any decision by the Council which fails to appreciate the point of view of one community and results in its further disenchantment will not serve this objective and may even press matters to a point of no return.

102. Motivated by these considerations, Pakistan had proposed certain amendments to the provisional draft resolution circulated on 15 November by the United Kingdom. The suggested amendments were intended to bring about a balance in the text and to provide a comprehensive perspective of the events in Cyprus which go back to 1963. Regrettably, our proposals did not receive the attention they deserved from the membership of the Council.

103. The revised draft resolution which is now before the Council omits an essential element which was present in the provisional draft of 15 November and which, in our view, was vital to the settlement of the Cyprus issue. This element was in paragraph 4 of the provisional draft resolution, which read as follows:

> "Requests the Secretary-General to pursue his mission of good offices and to discuss urgently with the two communities and with the Governments of Greece and Turkey ways by which the intercommunal negotiations may be resumed in order to achieve early progress towards a just and lasting settlement in Cyprus".

104. In the revised draft resolution this paragraph has been modified to exclude any reference to the intercommunal negotiations, which touch the very core of the Cyprus question. Deletion of this reference robs the draft resolution of the only element which could have constituted an explicit mandate for the Secretary-General to promote intercommunal talks and conciliation between the two communities. The provisional draft resolution had many shortcomings with which we might yet have been able to live. However, its revised version, with the deletion of the vital reference to intercommunal talks, cannot be acceptable to us. Accordingly, we are left with no choice but to vote negatively on the draft resolution in order to register our view that this draft resolution in its present form will not serve the cause of peace and harmony in Cyprus nor be instrumental in promoting its unity.

105. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/16149.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: China, France, Guyana, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Against: Pakistan.

Abstaining: Jordan.

The draft resolution was adopted by 13 votes to 1, with 1 abstention [resolution 541 (1983)].

106. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): First of all, please allow me, Sir, warmly to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for November. We are convinced that your wisdom and diplomatic skill will guide the Council in discharging its functions smoothly this month. At the same time, I wish sincerely to express my appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Salah of Jordan. Because of his unremitting efforts, the Council during the busy month of October was able to function effectively.

107. I wish to take this opportunity to welcome the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Cyprus and Greece to these meetings of the Security Council.

108. The question of Cyprus has all along been a matter of concern to the international community. For many years the countries concerned and the international community at large have made unremitting efforts to find a peaceful solution to the Cyprus issue. Under his mandate from the Security Council, the Secretary-General has been engaged in active mediation between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots with the aim of achieving a fair solution to the problem. Regrettably, however, so far no satisfactory solution has been found.

109. The development of events in the past few days has further complicated the question of Cyprus and caused deep concern in the international community. In recent years, through the joint efforts of both the Greek and the Turkish Cypriots and with encouragement from various quarters, there have been repeated contacts and meetings between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots to seek measures to solve their disputes peacefully, which constitutes a good beginning for negotiations between them. Naturally, people are well aware of the fact that the question of Cyprus is a complicated one left over from colonialist rule and that there may be twists and turns, and even setbacks, in the course of negotiations which take time and require mutual accommodation.

110. Nevertheless, we believe that so long as both the Greek and the Turkish Cypriots set store by the overall interests of the country and continue with the negotiations in a spirit of mutual understanding and accommodation, they should be able to find a fair and just solution acceptable to both sides.

111. The Chinese Government has all along supported the Republic of Cyprus in its efforts to preserve its independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status. Since the draft resolution put forward by the United Kingdom refers to respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and calls upon the parties to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in his mission of good offices, the Chinese delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution just adopted.

112. We sincerely hope that the indigenous Greek and Turkish Cypriots will exercise restraint, persevere in the spirit of patient consultation, avoid an aggravation of the situation and settle their disputes at an early date on the basis of the progress already achieved, so that they can live together in harmony and jointly build a prosperous Cyprus.

113. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation voted for draft resolution S/16149. We believe that it adequately meets the needs of the situation which has arisen as a result of unilateral action by the leadership of the Turkish community in Cyprus. We were also guided by the fact that the text of this resolution is acceptable to the Government of Cyprus. At the same time, we feel that we must make the following statement.

114. The Zurich and London Agreements[1] that were imposed upon Cyprus, which are referred to in the preambular part of the resolution, are a serious curtailment of the sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus. The "guarantees" envisaged therein are essentially used to serve interests which are alien to the Cypriot people. These "guarantees" failed in the past to prevent armed intervention in Cyprus and this time once again have failed to prevent the performance of further acts which are aimed at splitting up the State of Cyprus.

115. The PRESIDENT: Mr. Denktaş, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure, wishes to make a statement. With the consent of the Council, I invite him to take a place at the Council table and make his statement.

116. Mr. DENKTAŞ: I thank you for this opportunity to add a few more words which I shall make as short as possible at this late hour in order to make the position of my community clear. I was really touched to see all the representatives so keenly interested in the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of my country. Cyprus is my country. We did nothing to destroy its sovereignty, independence or territorial integrity. We defended it when it was attacked by Greek Cypriots and when the bicommunal character of its independence and of its Government was destroyed.

117. It appears that in these forums, Greek Cypriot word is more important than that of Turkish Cypriots. I have therefore brought with me a Greek Cypriot of distinction to convince the Council that I am telling the truth. This Greek Cypriot is Mr. Stanley Kyriakides, a professor from Cyprus, living in America, who has written several books on Cyprus.

118. I want to stress that when the Council says that the territorial integrity of Cyprus should not be affected,

should not be divided, should be protected, it is talking about my country, and from this territorial integrity my people were ejected by force of arms and we had to be given back this territory which was denied us for 20 years. At the last moment we say: our territory now is our State because we cannot live without the protection of this State. But we are ready to re-establish territorial integrity. We are ready to re-establish bicommunal independence and sovereignty. Everybody thinks that we are destroying the territorial integrity of Cyprus. I demand my people's right—I demand it—because I am part of Cyprus and because I have been ejected from it. Greek Cypriot representatives here are smilingly occupying our seat. It is the Cypriot seat, not the Greek Cypriot seat, but for 20 years we have been denied our say from it and they dare say to the Council that I, with Turkey, withdrew my community from the Government of Cyprus. The Secretary-General's reports are there. This kind of falsification to a body like this should not be allowed to continue, if the defence of the world, if peace in this world is to succeed.

119. The Secretary-General knows the truth about the past—everybody knows it—but here we are told "we love the Turks, we did no wrong to them".

120. So it was we who killed ourselves and buried ourselves in common graves for years and years; we denied food, medicine and building materials to our people and, having given the Greeks all our lands, were squeezed into 2 per cent of the area of Cyprus for 20 years. And when we come to the point where Greece occupies Cyprus, overthrows Makarios and his illegal régime and Turkey comes and stops this occupation while thousands of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots are being killed, when we take protection behind a line and we still seek to restore the unity of the State of Cyprus, the unity of its sovereignty, its territorial integrity, by establishing a bi-zonal federation, we are told by the Greek Cypriots: no, this is too much. Why? Because back in 1964 this body wrongly decided that the Greek Cypriots themselves were the legitimate Government of Cyprus.

121. From that moment onward, the chances of settling the Cyprus problem were finished. Now, in good will, for the protection of our rights, we take this final step and we are the judges of whether the Greek Cypriots intended to settle with us, whether they had good will in coming to the conference table. We are in a position to judge it; we have our information and our contacts. When we decide to take the step, the whole world is up in arms. Why? What have we done? What were we expected to do? To become the colonial subjects of the Greek Cypriots? To abandon all our rights and bow to them? This is the question before the Council, and this is the crucial question to be decided.

122. Now, I shall refer to my Greek witness because I have to prove that a bicommunal partnership State was shattered, that I am part of it and that the State which my people have just established is a part of the territorial integrity, part of the independence, part of the sovereignty of Cyprus if federal bi-zonality is to be established—as I agreed with Makarios, and later confirmed with Mr. Kyprianou. But if it is not to be established, are the members of the Security Council going to tell me that I am to become the subject of the Greeks? By what right? Under what law? Under what chapter of the United Nations rules am I going to be asked to make my people the colonial subjects of the Greek Cypriots?

123. The Council has no such right; it is misreading the Cyprus problem; it is looking at it with Greek eyes because for 20 years it did not listen to us. For 20 years non-alignment was being used in order to destroy the independence of Cyprus. We shouted that this was so, but the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries continuously backed the Greek Cypriots, who are on record countless times as indicating that they want nothing but union with Greece.

124. This farce must finish. My people are entitled to their rights, and that is why I have come here. Given our rights and our equality we are ready to re-establish the bi-zonal federal system. We appreciate the Secretary-General's work, initiative and efforts; we want him to continue because we have the utmost trust in him. But we cannot do so if we are treated as a nonentity, as an ethnic group that has no right of self-determination, as subjects of the Greek Cypriots. Is the Security Council in the twentieth century, in 1983, going to create colonial subjects for the Greeks? This is what the Council is being asked to do and this is what all the efforts have been for the past 20 years. It is enough.

125. I want to make one correction: it is not the leadership that has decided to establish a State; it is my people. I respect their will and I hope the Council will also.

126. I come to Mr. Kyriakides. In his book entitled *Cyprus: Constitutionalism and Crisis Government*[5] he writes:

> "An analysis of the Cypriot Constitution of 1960 reveals a strong bi-communal character. Its major provisions are directed toward establishing and regulating bicommunal interests. The Constitution recognizes and legitimizes bicommunalism; at the same time, it guarantees community interests through an intricate system of constitutional devices."[6]

He continues:

> "With the two ethnic communities institutionalized and given respective communal recognition, the framework of the 1960 Constitution ensures bicommunal participation in all spheres and levels of government."[7]

127. Where have we been for the last 20 years? Where is this Government? Is any Government that robs its people of their constitutional rights, ejects them from the Government and from the State, treats them as rebels, kills them, burns down their houses, steals their lands and reduces them to living in 2 per cent of the land area a Government to be respected by this Organization? And when we say "Come and see us", does the non-aligned group come to us? Because of their respect for this Government they make conditions. They say, "We will come to you, but can we not see you in our hotel? We do not want to come to your office." Then we compromise. They come to my house. We

say to them: "Come and see the common graves." They reply "No." We say, "Come and meet our refugees." "No." "Come and see the relatives of the persons missing since 1963." "No."

128. This is the treatment we receive. And then you talk here about human dignity, sovereign rights, peace, equality. This is the treatment we have received for 20 years, and my people say, we are tired of it. We are going to be non-aligned if they will accept us. We are going to support sovereignty over Cyprus if the Greeks will establish the bi-zonal Republic. But if they do not, what are we going to do—live stateless? Are we going to be the subjects of the Greek Cypriots? No.

129. I shall continue with the words of Mr. Kyriakides:

> "It appears that in all spheres of government, regardless of whether the character is national or local, the Constitution recognizes the Turks and Greeks of Cyprus primarily as members of their respective communities with political and constitutional rights, that is, not as citizens of Cyprus but as members of one or the other community. The constitutional bicommunalism becomes more evident in the analysis of communal participation in the executive, legislative and judicial branches."[8]

130. Yes, but for 20 years this Constitution, this agreement, was in the wastepaper basket. It is still there. We appeal to the guarantors to come and help us. No one remembered the Treaty of Guarantee when we were cut down. When the Constitution was in the wastepaper basket for 20 years, where were the guarantors? Greece was with them trying to destroy the constitutional set-up, trying to grab Cyprus. Secretly, 20,000 Greek soldiers entered Cyprus. They attacked defenceless Turkish villages. Where were the guarantors? Where were the others? Had Turkey not been there to help us, Cyprus's territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty—about which everyone talks so warmly—would have been finished long ago. We defended it. We know its value, and we are not going to give it up.

131. Makarios stated that not an inch of this land will be given to the Turks; all of it, the whole of it, will be given to Greece. No. That is why the set-up of our State is a direct obstacle to *enosis*. It shall continue to be so. We are not going to allow Cyprus to be Hellenized. We have died in the cause of defending Cyprus's territorial integrity and its independence; we intend to keep it. It is ours; we are not going to give it to Greece, never.

132. I therefore call upon the representative of the Greek Cypriot side to tell this body today whether he agrees that we are going to talk on the basis of the 1977 and 1979 high-level agreements and of the Secretary-General's "evaluation" paper and the opening statements of 1980 and 1981, leading to a bi-zonal federal system, or whether, as he said earlier today, 10 per cent, as he calls us, cannot be equated to 82 per cent? If we are talking federalism, we are not counting heads, we are looking at how many units there are.

133. There are two units in Cyprus, as Mr. Kyriakides proves, the Turkish unit and the Greek unit. If Yugoslavia had started talking about minorities and majorities there would be no Yugoslavia today. There are no such words in the Yugoslav language as "minority" and "majority". Decisions are made by consensus because the Yugoslav people want to be united, they do not want to be divided. So I ask the Greek Cypriots, do they accept federalism, bi-zonal federalism such as I agreed with Makarios, or are they for a unitary State, as Mr. Kyprianou said yesterday? This is the question before the Council.

134. I promised not to be lengthy. I have many papers. I shall not read them to the Council. I shall not waste its time, for members have tired themselves in a very important affair. I shall end my statement by referring to the resolution adopted today because I want to be absolutely honest with the Council. If we have survived for 20 years and not gone down it is because we have been correct and consistent all the time.

135. To us, there is no Government of the Republic of Cyprus. The Government in the south represents Greek Cypriots; the Government in the north represents Turkish Cypriots. Together, bicommunally, they become the Government of Cyprus, and I extend an offer to the Greek Cypriot side to sit down at the table and to re-establish this bicommunal, bi-zonal federal system.

136. The Council says that it is concerned at the declaration by the Turkish Cypriot authorities about our independent State. I hope it is equally concerned that one part of the bicommunal Government has for 20 years been robbing the other part of all its rights, has not given them back and does not intend to give them back because it gets all this confirmation from the Security Council that it is the legitimate Government of Cyprus.

137. The whole world may regard these individuals as the legitimate Government of Cyprus, but if the population in Cyprus regards them as robbers of their rights, they are not the legitimate Government of Cyprus. They have to be decent to the other part of the Government. They cannot continue this armed robbery at our expense and then rouse the whole world against us, claiming that a legitimate Government of Cyprus has been disrupted. Where has legitimacy been for 20 years?

138. That our declaration is "incompatible with the 1960 Treaty" we reject. The 1960 Treaty brought about an independent, sovereign Cyprus in which two communities shared all governmental institutions, shared the executive, shared everything. So if we cannot continue like that—it was the Greek Cypriots who threw it over—then we must find another way in a guaranteed, independent, non-aligned island of Cyprus. And this is the alternative we found after 20 years, as I have said.

139. The Council considers the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus to be "invalid". As I said yesterday, it considered China non-existent for 30 years and East Germany non-existent for 25 years. It does not matter; they are now here among us, and I greet them with respect.

140. We are not seceding from the independent island of Cyprus, from the Republic of Cyprus, or will not do so if the chance is given to us to re-establish a bi-zonal federal system. But if the robbers of my rights continue to insist that they are the legitimate Government of Cyprus, we shall be as legitimate as they, as non-aligned as they, as sovereign as they in the northern State of Cyprus, but we shall keep the door wide open to re-establishing unity under a federal system. It is up to them to decide; they must not be allowed to get away with this highway robbery. They have done so for too long, and now they are so confident that they can get away with it that they recognize none of our rights. That is why they led us into our present position. Please understand us; they left us no alternative. We hope that this will be such a weight on the scales in favour of continuing the talks in a meaningful way that they would come to the negotiating table.

141. I wanted the Council to encourage them in that direction by not condemning us, or at least by telling them, after condemning us, "We see you, Mr. Kyprianou, as the legitimate President of Cyprus. Very well, but are you not missing one leg? Are you not hopping without the Turkish leg which you cut off and threw into the dustbin 20 years ago? Why do you not put it back and be a proper legitimate Government?" No one has said that to them for 20 years, so they think they can get away with the highway robbery they have committed.

142. By what we have done we have prevented them from running away with our sovereignty, with our independence, with our freedom. They have no right to touch it. Thousands of my people are dead and buried because they objected to *enosis*, because they did not recognize the unconstitutional rule of Makarios. What do I care if the whole world, ignorant of what is happening in Cyprus, tells them that they are the legitimate Government of Cyprus? I do not recognize them. My people does not recognize them. We shall not recognize them. The only way is to re-establish the bicommunal, bi-zonal federal system, with the aid and help and good offices of the Secretary-General. We are ready for that.

143. We hope that the procedures thus far agreed upon will be followed. If a new procedure is to be found, I am sure that the two Governments will meet and decide and agree upon a new procedure and then continue their talks in the framework of the good offices of the Secretary-General.

144. I am sorry that I talked very excitedly, but I am excited. When the Council is excited about my Government's integrity, independence and sovereignty, I hope it will grant me the right to be a little more excited than it is.

145. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cyprus. I invite him to make a statement.

146. Mr. IACOVOU (Cyprus): The dignity of the Council prevents me from making a reply to what we have heard. My only task at this late hour is to thank the Council for its adoption of today's resolution, which fully vindicates the position of my Government, the Government of the Republic of Cyprus. I wish also to thank you very warmly, Mr. President, for the expert way in which you guided the work of this Council and for your personal contribution to the success of its deliberations today.

147. We now hope that Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot leadership will obey the call of the Security Council and withdraw the declaration of 15 November, and thus open the road to a just settlement of the Cyprus problem.

148. We shall await eagerly the reports of the Secretary-General to the Council about the progress in the implementation of the resolution it has just adopted.

149. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Turkey has asked to make a statement, and I call on him now.

150. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): If the Greek Cypriot representative expects Turkey or the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus to give up independence, or expects Turkey to withdraw its recognition, he must really be ignorant of the Turkish dictionary: certain words cannot be found there.

151. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council has now concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.

NOTES

[1] *Conference on Cyprus: Documents signed and initialled at Lancaster House on 19 February 1959*, Cmnd. 679 (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1959).

[2] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 382, No. 5475.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 382, No. 5496.

[4] *Ibid.*, Nos. 5476 to 5486.

[5] Stanley Kyriakides, *Cyprus: Constitutionalism and Crisis Government* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968).

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

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